1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner.

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night.

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together.

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind.

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*mata*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European.

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance.

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations.

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again.

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi.

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous.

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum.

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wañgga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndrele i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows:

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana,	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,